


11 April 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

1. This memorandum is for information only.
2. By separate memorandum today, I forwarded excerpts from your public addresses on the subject of education and evolution in the Soviet Union, which I understand you are going to send to Bill Nichols of THIS WEEK Magazine.
3. The attached letter from Stewart Beach, Executive Editor of THIS WEEK, is, as he states, pressure on his part to get you to furnish comments from your speeches on "what should be our present attitude toward the Russian people." This is not the side of the street that you cover. I would recommend you not agree to the question and answer "filling-in" of gaps which Stewart Beach is using in the hope of getting what will be an interview.
4. For your information, when Stewart Beach was in the War Dept., he was one of my assistants and was the best speech writer we had.


Stanley J. Grozan
Assistant to the Director

Attach.

ER 60-1588/b

15 APR 1960

ack
Mr. William I. Nichols
Editor and Publisher
This Week Magazine
485 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Bill:

Upon returning to my office from a short visit down South, Stewart Beach's letter of 5 April was brought to my attention.

As I previously indicated, I would be sending you quotes from my public addresses. I now have some which are enclosed with the hope that you will find them useful. These excerpts concern some ideas on education and evolution in the Soviet Union. As my work covers what the Soviets are doing and planning, I must not comment on what America's attitude should be toward the Russian people since I do not cover this side of the street.

Please thank Stewart for writing to me and with best wishes.

Sincerely,

Allen W. Dulles
Director

Enclosures

O/DCI/ :bak(13 Apr. 60)

Distribution:

Orig. - Addressee

1 - DCI

1 - Col. Grogan

1 - AAB

1 - ER w/basic

ER 60-2428/a

Mr. Stewart Beach
Executive Editor
THIS WEEK Magazine
485 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Stewart:

I appreciated your reminder of our meeting just before last Christmas in your letter of 5 April 1960.

I am enclosing some excerpts from my public addresses which cover some ideas on education and evolution in the Soviet Union. I hope this will be useful. It is with regret that I must not comment on what America's attitude should be toward the Russian people. I don't cover our side of the street. My work, as you well know, covers what the Soviet is doing and planning.

Thank you for your letter and my best wishes to Bill Nichols and you.

Sincerely,

Allen W. Dulles
Director

O/DCI/SJGrogan:abi (11 Apr 60)

Distribution:

Orig - Add

- 1 - ER w/basic
- 1 - DCI via/reading
- 1 - DDCI
- 2 - SJGrogan

Will not be sent

EDUCATION AND EVOLUTION IN THE SOVIET UNION:
EXCERPTS FROM ADDRESSES BY ALLEN W. DULLES,
DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

Address at Columbia University, June 1, 1955

"...Such, then, is the system [of Soviet education], stressing high technical educational standards on the one hand while insisting on Communist philosophy and discipline on the other. Its ultimate human result, the Soviet graduate, must be -- in the phrase given me by one of the best-educated of our recent defectors -- 'a man divided.'

"In time, with the growth of education ... this Soviet 'man divided' must inevitably come to have more and more doubt about the Communist system as a whole.

"In the past, we have sometimes had exaggerated expectations of dissensions within the Soviet and in other totalitarian systems. Our hopes have not perhaps been so much misguided as they have been premature. If we take a longer look we can foresee the possibility of great changes in the Soviet system. Here the educational advances will play a major part.

"...When Wendell Willkie visited the Soviet Union in 1942, he had a look at their school system. In a conversation at the Kremlin he remarked: '...If you continue to educate the Russian people, Mr. Stalin, the first thing you know you'll educate yourself out of a job.' This seemed to amuse the Soviet dictator mightily. Maybe it will prove to be anything but a joke for the Soviet rulers of the future.

"...Today, the Soviet have gone much further than before towards introducing into their system the leaven of education, which makes a return to the Dark Ages far more difficult than in the past. ...In introducing mass education the troubled Soviet leaders have loosed forces dangerous to themselves. It will be very difficult for them henceforth to close off their own people from access to the realities of the outside world."

Address at the University of Cincinnati, April 20, 1956

"...My guess is that modern industry, technology, and education, which today unquestionably are making the Soviet Union into a very powerful nation indeed, may in the long run prove to be a leaven that gradually transmutes Soviet society into a new form which will not tolerate the present type of dictatorship.

"Ever since Adam and Eve tasted the apple from the forbidden tree of knowledge, man have had to pay the price of reasonable restraint and toleration of one another's differences in return for the fruits of civilization. The Russians will not be immune to this tendency. Let us hope that industrial strength, technology, and education will eventually help the Russians to political and social liberty."

Address at Princeton University, December 12, 1956

"...Some 18 months ago in an address at Columbia University, I did some speculating about the dilemma which the Soviet was beginning to face as a result of the broadening of their educational system, and I ventured to make this prediction: 'In introducing mass education the troubled Soviet leaders have loosed forces dangerous to themselves. It will be very difficult for them henceforth to close off their own people from access to the realities of the outside world.' These forces are now beginning to plague the Kremlin. ...

"There is growing up in Russia today, not only in industry but in all walks of life, a race of human beings who are becoming inquisitive about the fundamental principles that make it possible for men to live together in political societies. In particular, there are well substantiated reports that the students are becoming restive, inquisitive and outspoken in their demands for a critical examination of the infallibility of a system which produced the abuses of Stalinism. ... The leaven of education has begun its work; the men in the Kremlin have a hard task ahead to hold this process in check. ..."

Address before the Advertising Council, San Francisco,
September 19, 1957

"...It is true that in their [the Soviet] educational system they emphasize scientific and technical fields much more than social sciences and the humanities. But knowledge is not an inert substance. It has a way of seeping across lines and into adjacent compartments of learning. The Soviet leaders, I firmly believe, cannot illuminate their scientific lecture halls and laboratories without also letting the light of truth into their history and economics classrooms. Students cannot be conditioned to turning off their analytical processes when the instructor changes a topic. ...

"The education which Soviet and Chinese Communist leaders give their people is a dangerous commodity for a dictatorship. ... The Communist leaders are ... facing a growing body of highly educated, technologically competent men and women in the field of industrial management and production. It may prove impossible for them to stop the growing wave of intellectual unrest in the Soviet Union. Khrushchev cannot turn back education or stop technological development and keep the USSR a great power. ...

"The people of Russia, if given the time to continue their evolution to freedom out of the narrow bounds of Communist dictatorship, will themselves help to find a peaceful answer."

Address at Yale University, February 3, 1958

"...For many years I have felt that the greatest hope for the future in our relations with the Soviet Union lay in their advancement in education even though in the short run this has been largely harnessed to their military machine.


"Education, particularly in science, was essential to permit the Soviet effectively to compete in the power struggle in which it had engaged itself. It has accomplished this initial purpose.

"Great scientists are great thinkers and thought has no narrow military limitations. It would seem incredible if the horizons of Soviet scientists and educators do not become greatly widened over the years and their talents devoted more directly to meeting the needs of the Soviet people for a more satisfying form of life."

MEMORANDUM FOR: DCI

Here are the excerpts from past addresses bearing on education and evolution in the Soviet Union, which could be sent to Mr. Nichols of THIS WEEK magazine.

The initial public statement was on June 1, 1955, at Columbia University.


STANLEY J. GROOMAN
Assistant to the Director
11 April 1960
(DATE)

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FORM NO. 101 REPLACES FORM 10-101
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60-2428

This Week

MAGAZINE

485 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. · OXford 7-5500

STEWART BEACH
Executive Editor

April 5, 1960

Dear Allen:

Bill Nichols is away from the office for a week, so this is just an acknowledgement of your March 29 letter, which he will see as soon as he returns.

From my own tour of duty in the War Department, I know the pressures you must be under for articles. But the subject Bill proposed to you is such an important one that I hope some way can be found to bring it to life. So do have someone gather together the comments in speeches which bear on what should be our present attitude toward the Russian people. With these in hand, perhaps we will see a way to work out a piece with some question and answer filling-in by you of gaps which would probably exist.

I honestly think this could be done without embarrassing you by the "You-did-it-for-THIS-WEEK-so-you-ought-to-do-it-for-us" kind of pressure. And it is a subject on which I can testify, as Bill's letter says, that there is a great deal of contradiction in the public mind. Because of your job, you are in a position to speak with an objectivity which almost no one else can claim.

Now I guess I am pressuring you, but I only mean to point out that I think such a piece could perform an

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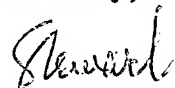
This Week
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important service which a speech, however widely reported, can never do, since it would, in most cases, be quoted only in part by the press. In THIS WEEK the entire text would reach 13,000,000 reader-families. And that's a lot of people.

It was good to see you up here just before Christmas. I wish we met more often.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,



Stewart Beach

Mr. Allen W. Dulles
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington 25, D.C.

Case 2002/07/29: CIA-RDP80B0167

CIRCULATIONS

Leading National Publications

THIS WEEK Magazine	13,186,045
Reader's Digest	12,134,253
American Weekly	9,968,416
Parade	9,620,334
Life	6,500,000
Saturday Evening Post	6,004,680
Look	6,000,000
Ladies' Home Journal	5,755,317
McCall's	5,700,000
Everywoman's Family Circle	5,121,124
Better Homes & Gardens	4,850,000
Good Housekeeping	4,437,978
Woman's Day	4,350,000
American Home	3,600,000
Time	2,450,000
Newsweek	1,325,000

Source: Latest available figures

Case 2002/07/29: CIA-RDP80B01676R
DEATH MORE PEOPLE. REAP MORE PROFIT.
BUY THE BIG ONE... THIS WEEK MAGAZINE

Release 2002/07/29 : CIA-RDP80B016

RATES & COST PER M *Leading National Publications*

	4-Color Page	Cost Per M	B&W 1 Col.	Cost Per M
THIS WEEK	\$50,160	\$3.80	\$ 7,860	\$.60
R. D.	40,250	3.32	19,750*	1.63*
Am. W'kly.	38,750	3.89	6,435	.65
Parade	37,735	3.92	6,140	.64
Life	44,400	6.83	8,250	1.27
S. E. P.	38,975	6.49	7,205	1.20
Look	38,720	6.45	7,275	1.21
L. H. J.	31,675	5.50	6,050	1.05
McCall's	27,560	4.84	5,450	.96
Fam. Circle	23,250	4.54	6,300	1.23
B. H. & G.	28,530	5.88	5,375	1.11
Good House.	22,995	5.18	5,625	1.27
Woman's Day	21,350	4.91	5,575	1.28
Am. Home	19,620	5.45	3,720	1.03
Time	19,840	8.10	4,830	1.97
Newsweek	11,155	8.42	2,585	1.95

*½ Pg.

Source: Latest available figures

Release 2002/07/29 : CIA-RDP80B016

BUY THE BIG ONE . . . THIS WEEK MAGAZINE

This Week

MAGAZINE

60-1588

485 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. • OXford 7-5500

WILLIAM I. NICHOLS
EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

March 3, 1960

Dear Allen:

For many years now (too many for my own pleasure) I have been leaving you alone out of a very deep respect for (a) the Busy-ness and (b) the Silence which very naturally go with your job.

But now I am writing on a matter where you may very well want to speak up because it bears on the job, and national security.

Briefly the subject is: what should the American public really think or feel about their opposite numbers, the Russian people?

At the present time I run into two contradictory attitudes:

(1) That the Russian people are like all people everywhere and that -- human nature being what it is -- they are gradually being seduced over to our way of seeing things, thanks to Moscow Fairs, Mr. Khrushchev's 7-Year Consumer Goods program, etc. Or --

(2) That the Russian people are separated from the West by a thousand years in cultural time and a dozen major forces, historical, geographical, political.

The first, or hopeful, view was well stated by Eric Hofer and is regurgitated by Roscoe Drummond in a recent column, copy attached.

The second, more wary view, has been classically stated by de Custine and more recently endorsed by Beedle Smith, and you will find that I have regurgitated them both in the marked sections of a recent talk "A Hard Look At the Russian People" copy of which is also attached. (You will quickly see that I am in this camp).

It seems to me that this is an area where we need guidance. If wrong, attitude (1) can lead to dangerous complacency; attitude (2) can produce needless suspicion, truculence and fear. Probably the truth is somewhere in between. But where is it? Can you tell us -- and will you?

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This Week
MAGAZINE

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If yes, my thought would be either a piece by you, or perhaps even better, an interview with THIS WEEK which would be published in your own words -- in Q & A format -- so that your views and your personality would get across in all their fullness. Needless to say, you'd have an opportunity to check the manuscript for accuracy and security. And we would put a good and qualified writer on the job to work with you.

Will you let me know if you think there is something here. If so, it would make me very happy to have you back in THIS WEEK. We have grown a lot since those good old days and I believe that some words from you could do a lot of good.

Always cordially,



William I. Nichols

Mr. Allen W. Dulles
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C.

This Week
MAGAZINE

485 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.
WILLIAM I. NICHOLS, *Editor & Publisher*

Circulation Summary 42 Distributing Newspapers

City	Paper	Circulation
Baltimore	The Sunday Sun	319,488
Birmingham	The Birmingham News	225,989
Boston	Boston Sunday Herald	299,415
Buffalo	Buffalo Evening News	296,588
Charlotte, N. C.	The Charlotte Observer	171,924
Chicago	Chicago Daily News	557,674
Cincinnati	The Cincinnati Enquirer	282,634
Cleveland	Cleveland Plain Dealer	513,527
Dallas	The Dallas Morning News	216,927
Denver	The Denver Post	369,905
Des Moines	Des Moines Sunday Register	515,599
Detroit	The Detroit News	588,989
*Grand Rapids	The Grand Rapids Press	86,000
Houston	The Houston Post	225,374
Indianapolis	The Indianapolis Star	322,530
Jacksonville	The Florida Times-Union	162,046
Kansas City	Kansas City Star	358,583
Los Angeles	Los Angeles Times	878,219
Memphis	The Commercial Appeal	255,182
Miami	Miami Sunday News	117,384
Milwaukee	The Milwaukee Journal	501,907
Minneapolis	Minneapolis Sunday Tribune	630,035
New Orleans	The Times-Picayune	292,286
New York	New York Herald Tribune	567,265
Norfolk	The Virginian-Pilot	143,215
Omaha	Omaha World-Herald	261,195
Philadelphia	The Sunday Bulletin	743,971
Phoenix	The Arizona Republic	172,444
Pittsburgh	The Pittsburgh Press	526,991
Portland	Sunday Journal	202,214
Providence	The Providence Sunday Journal	187,408
Richmond	Richmond Times-Dispatch	187,903
Rochester, N. Y.	Democrat & Chronicle	180,768
St. Louis	St. Louis Globe-Democrat	376,238
Salt Lake City	The Salt Lake Tribune	179,301
San Antonio	Sunday Express & News	106,475
San Francisco	San Francisco Chronicle	266,682
Spokane	The Spokesman-Review	143,042
Syracuse	The Post-Standard	106,410
*Tampa	The Tampa Tribune	155,262
Washington	The Sunday Star	298,067
Wichita	The Wichita Sunday Eagle	121,584

Total Circulation 13,114,640

*Begins distribution September 13, 1959

New York Herald Tribune February 28, 1960

WASHINGTON

By ROSCOE DRUMMOND

Why People Revolt

WASHINGTON.

The central conviction of the young Soviet defector, Alexander Kaznacheyev—a conviction which runs counter to most Western opinion, is that the Khrushchev regime faces a continuing crisis at home, that Mr. Khrushchev's successor will be forced to "liberalize" the regime still further and that this trend cannot be reversed.

This column has recently quoted Mr. Kaznacheyev at length, not because we uncritically accept his view of the shape of events to come, but because we felt he had credentials to expound an opinion worth examining and because he has had first-hand contact with what is going on inside the Soviet Union.

As a result of this interview with Mr. Kaznacheyev, I have been inundated with letters warning against being misled by an over-rosy expectation of a continuous softening of the Soviet dictatorship. Some of the letters questioned the validity of Mr. Kaznacheyev's main point, but most were fearful of American complacency and of thinking that there is some easy way of winning the contest against communism.

I agree. Even if the internal trend is continuously toward "liberalization," there is no evidence that it is altering Soviet world objectives. The process might itself have to go on fifty to a hundred years. If the Soviet system changes from within, that will be a marvelous dividend, but we mustn't count on it or base Western policy on its expectation.

But the wisdom of not basing our own policies on what may happen inside the Soviet Union does not prove that Mr. Kaznacheyev is wrong. What seems to me the most arresting observation he made is that the Khrushchev regime is weaker than its predecessors because it has made concessions to popular demand for a less oppressive regime, and that as it permits a better standard of living for more of the Russian people, the demand for further concessions will grow, not abate.



Drummond

Mr. Kaznacheyev seemed to me to be speaking from observation, not as a philosopher of revolutions. But the students of the psychology of revolutions bear him out. For example, Eric Hoffer in "The True Believer," published by Harper in 1951, points out that, historically, abject misery has not been the seed-bed of revolution but that only as misery is appreciably relieved does it demand change. Mr. Hoffer puts it this way:

"Discontent is likely to be highest when misery is bearable; when conditions have so improved that an ideal state seems almost within reach. A grievance is most poignant when almost redressed."

The French revolution is a perfect case in point as de Tocqueville has shown. In his researches into the state of society in France before the revolution, de Tocqueville was struck by the discovery that "in no one of the periods which have followed the revolution of 1789 has the national prosperity of France augmented more rapidly than it did in the twenty years preceding that event. . . . The French found their position the more intolerable the better it became."

Mr. Hoffer looks at both the French and Soviet revolutions and draws this interesting conclusion:

"In both France and Russia the land-hungry peasants owned almost exactly one-third of the agricultural land at the outbreak of the revolution, and most of that land was acquired during the generation or two preceding the revolution. . . . It is not actual suffering but the taste of better things which excites people to revolt. . . . The most dangerous moment for the regime of the Politburo will be when a considerable improvement in the economic conditions of the Russian masses has been achieved and the iron totalitarian rule somewhat relaxed."

This is exactly what Mr. Kaznacheyev is talking about. He held that with the beginning of the process of some relaxation and some relieving of the misery of the Russian people, the demand for further concessions grows, there is no turning back the clock. It may take decades; we can't count on it—just watch and continue to help the free world build a better peace.

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This Week
MAGAZINE

OXford 7-5500

485 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

See pp 3-4

A HARD LOOK AT THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE

Transcript of
a talk by

William I. Nichols
Editor & Publisher
THIS WEEK Magazine

The Rotary Club of Pittsburgh, Pa.
September 9, 1959
Penn-Sheraton Hotel

MR. NICHOLS: Last April at our Publisher's Meeting in New York when Frank Morrison asked me to come here, I said, "Yes." And I did so for three reasons:

One - I love Frank and Wally and the Pittsburgh Press and Pittsburgh. I was eager to come here and renew associations with you all. Two, way back there in April, September seemed an awfully long way off. And third, having this Russian trip in mind, it seemed as though it would be very easy to come back and simply tell you about the things I had seen.

But since then, a couple of things have happened. First, Richard Nixon decided to go to Russia. Second, a man named N. Khrushchev decided to come here to the United States. As a result, it seems as though practically everybody who owns a toothbrush and a typewriter has been to Russia--has gone--has seen--has written, and never, as far as I know, have there been so many Russian experts living in the world as there are today.

2.

Mindful of all this, I am going to try to focus my remarks today. The one thing I want to do is to give you some image, some impression, some understanding about the Russian people.

I leave the other subjects to the other experts. Admiral Rickover can talk about atomic vessels. Billy Graham can talk about Russian churches. Helena Rubenstein can talk about Russian beauty. Your own fellow member, Steve Bell, has already talked and written authoritatively on the situation as to Russian machine tools and metallurgy. But my interest is people. For almost 20 years that is the one thing I've been thinking about in terms of "THIS WEEK" and the 13 million families that read it. My constant concern is what interests people. What makes people tick? Why are people the way they are? It's a little bit like the Tammany lawyer, you remember, who "didn't know any law, but he knew the judges." And so that's somewhat the definition of an editor, too. He may not know much about any single subject, but he is supposed to know a lot about people.

When it comes to people, I simply want to tell you this in terms of the Russian people--that many Americans are slipping into a very, very dangerous illusion, because we make a rather quick, easy and, if I may say so, superficial assumption.

Since the Russians have two eyes, a nose, and a mouth, we are apt to say they are just like us - or, at worst, that they are Americans gone wrong. We assume that if only we could get through to them with our broadcasts--if only we could write them letters--if only we could talk to them--if we could only exchange enough students and enough exhibitions--that immediately we'd all become friends, that the world would settle down to a period of peace and harmony for everybody forever.

3.

And I simply want to say that as of the moment, and unless and until a great many things happen, that just simply is not so. I say that the Russians are different. That they have always been different. That under Communism they are becoming more different. And that if we ignore those facts, we do so at our own peril.

I base all those rather absolute statements on my own observations supplemented by talks with other people, and buttressed in my case by a wife who happens to be a Slav and who speaks Russian. But beyond that, if you go back and read carefully the history of Russia you see these facts confirmed again and again.

Among such testimony I want to bring forth first--a remarkable book that America is just discovering, because it has just been translated. It is called "A Journey for Our Times," and is the memoirs of the Marquis de Custine, a brilliant Frenchman who visited Russia in 1839. His analysis or critique of Russia is as brilliant as that of his fellow Frenchman, Alexis de Tocqueville, who was visiting America and describing our character in 1831. Those two books are companion pieces. They are probably the most brilliant and penetrating pieces of political analysis I know.

All that I can say is that since my return I found page after page after page of description written by de Custine in 1839 about the Russian people, the Russian character, which might have been taken out of my diary, if only I could write that well. As a sample, I quote you only this one passage from the Marquis de Custine, who says:

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"Russia today is scarcely four hundred years removed from the invasion of the barbarians, whereas the West was subjected to the same crisis fourteen centuries ago. A civilization a thousand years older puts an immeasurable distance between the morals of nations."

Now you can say that this was written long ago. Things have changed. Maybe it's all different now. But let me read you now two paragraphs from the Preface of this same book written in 1959 by General Walter Bedell Smith, who was, as you know, Eisenhower's Chief of Staff, and then our Ambassador in Moscow. It develops that in Moscow this book of de Custine was constantly at his hand as a handbook, a key, a guide. And in introducing it, he says,

"It is not enough and basically it is not true to say, as so many have said to me, that the Russian people are like people everywhere and only the Government is different.

"The people, too, are different. They are different because wholly different social and political conditions have retarded and perverted their development and set them apart from other civilizations."

What I want to say is that this process of perversion is still going on. People are not less but more different. Under Communism, I find that process definable under three words: People are becoming or have become more: (1) IGNORANT, (2) ARROGANT and (3) GREEDY -- and the sum total of those traits or characteristics conspires to make a fourth word: DANGEROUS.

Now let me explain -- at least let me try to explain, because I am describing subjective things, and that is always hard to do. It is easy to come back with a traveler's tale, with films and descriptions of physical things. But I am trying to describe a mood. And believe me, it is not an easy thing to do. There are certain things -- with all the wonders of communication, in print or movies, or television --

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certain things that you have to experience in order to understand. But let me try to justify these three words: ignorant, arrogant, and greedy.

I.

When I say IGNORANT, right away perhaps you feel that I am stating a paradox, because we have all been filled with talk about the improvement in Russia as to literacy...that a country once 50 to 70 per cent illiterate now has no illiteracy...that everyone goes to school...that they turn out a high level of technicians. All those facts are true. But remember this: if you learn to read and then all you read is propaganda, somewhere along the line you forget to think, and then it might almost be better if you had never learned to read in the first place. That, as I say, is a thing you have to experience to understand. I found that even in one week of living in a vacuumed-cell world where all you hear and all you see is controlled and dominated from a single source, you feel your brain slipping. The food for thought begins to disappear. You find your brain gradually becoming atrophied, and soon you are ready to absorb and believe any kind of dangerous nonsense.

Let me just give one example. A student--very able, very clever, I am sure he would outpoint many of our college students in many areas of knowledge--was taking us through the museum. On the wall was a large painting by a 19th Century painter by the name of Ivanof. But the boy was a little troubled as he showed it to us, because the painting was of a religious subject. It showed John the Baptist standing in the River Jordan surrounded with disciples. Across the

6.

hills was appearing the figure of Christ and John the Baptist was raising his hand in recognition. And now listen to our young man: "This is a painting by Ivanof. It is a painting of a religious subject, but is an unfinished painting because the artist lost his religious faith while he was working on it."

Now in my whole life I have never seen a painting which is more finished than that. Every figure was in it. Every tree was in it. Every leaf, every blade of grass, every grain of sand, every hair on every head. When I said to the young man, "Where is it unfinished?" He said, "I don't know. I can't tell you. But we were told it was unfinished."

Now that one little story could be multiplied again and again. It could be taken from the field of art into the field of politics. If you followed the debates between Nixon and Kozlof, you saw again and again that observation, reasoning, logic, facts, simply evaporate. If at one point you say "What about your troops in East Germany, or in Hungary or in Bulgaria?" you are met with an absolutely open stare and the answer "We have no troops in those countries."

Or if, at some point you bring up the behavior of the Communist regime in Korea or in Indochina, or in Hungary, you are met with a comment: "But past events have no bearing on present problems."

Or if you ask some similar question, which proves embarrassing, you are told that it is an "improper" question. And so I simply now lay on the table that one word "ignorance", or stupidity. I believe it is very dangerous, because we assume that people, being people, know how to think. In Russia, it is a false assumption.

7.

II.

Now the second word, ARROGANT. That seems to be a second paradox, because it is true the population is miserable. It is oppressed. It is poorly clothed. It has been persecuted and so on. But at the same time, collectively as a total people, it is also arrogant.

Let me try to explain that. It is because the people as a whole, under the current system have in effect been enthroned and enshrined. The old Gods have been toppled. The Czar is gone. The church and the patriarchs are gone. The saints are gone too. But now in their place are the images of worship in the form of the embalmed and deified bodies of Stalin and Lenin. But more important than that is the fact that the people are deified themselves. Just as in the old days of the Roman Empire the Emperors had statues made of themselves and placed in the temples, something similar is happening in Russia now.

What I have just said may be a clue which will help you understand Russian art, which is so much ridiculed by our modern artists. They say, "How dowdy. How corny. How old-fashioned. There has been no progress. The paintings all look alike." But they miss the point. The pictures and the statues are not intended to be art. They are intended to be objects of worship. These people, one by one, may be shabby and cold and badly housed. But then they go into a subway station or they go into a Park of Culture and rest and see these glorified, heroic, many-times-human-sized, golden and silver statues of the happy worker with his hammer in hand, of the happy peasant woman with sheafs of wheat in her arms, of the partisan with his machine gun held before him - and suddenly each Russian sees himself and out of that self-worship comes a kind of collective arrogance.

8.

Wherever you go you see it reflected in the signs. "Onward to the victory of the Communist party." "Onward to world victory." And of course, the famous line of Khrushchev, "We will bury you."

III.

And now we come to the final word, GREEDY. But first this much must be said: until recently there was at least one redeeming feature in the Communist tyranny. The people may have been ignorant and arrogant, but at least there was kind of a perverse idealism about them too. They were suffering, they were sacrificing, for the sake of the future. They were building dams for their children and their grandchildren. They were opening up a territory for the future.

But now, Khrushchev has made what I regard as a tragic blunder. A fatal blunder in terms of himself and perhaps in terms of the world, because he has now in announcing his current Seven Year Plan, indicated to the people that the big payoff is at hand, here and now. All the previous plans had to do with basic-production, with power plants, with steel mills, with railroads or with coal mines, and all the other basic things. But this one is concerned with consumer goods and although there may be some fine type in there, which protects him if you get into an argument, at least in the minds of the people they believe that by 1965 they are going to surpass us in standards of living. And Khrushchev himself has contributed to that in many ways. I have here the text of the speech he made at the opening of the American Exhibition. Here are just a few of the sentences that appear in it!

9.

"In another seven years, we will be on the same level as America." ... "We are confident that the day is not far off when our country will overtake our American partner in the peaceful economic competition, and then will at some station come alongside America, salute her by a signal and move on." ... "This Exhibition is useful to us because we can learn something here. We see the American Exhibition as an exhibition of our own achievements of the near future, as evidence of the progress which our country will make in production and technology when our plans have been fulfilled."

All this, suddenly, has given a new meaning to the old slogan, "Victory for Communism." It is no longer victory for an ideal. It is no longer victory for their grandchildren. It is a quick victory now. And it is expressed to the Russians as "Mi-Vas-Peregonim." In English it is "We will surpass you." And wherever you go you find people looking at you, looking at our exhibition, not in any spirit of friendliness or admiration, or sporting rivalry. They are looking at you appraisingly. They are stripping your clothes; they are taking your wristwatch. They are lifting your fountain pen. They are looking at your shoes, because they are saying to themselves, "This has been promised to us. This is what we are going to have by 1965."

IV

And that is where, of course, the DANGER comes in. Because the new Seven Year Plan is bound to fail. In this short time, I can't spell that out too much. But it should be obvious to you why the failure will come in. Although, here too, we can be confused by what is still a third Russian paradox.

10.

We say to ourselves, "Perhaps they can win. After all, they can build these beautiful subways. They can build a terrific sputnik. Why can't they give the people a U.S.-style standard of living too?" Well just take my word for it, they can't. I'm not an engineer. But from college physics I remember one rule that I think still holds. It's Boyle's Law, which is that a hundred pounds of pressure on one square inch equals one pound of pressure on a hundred square inches. And these Russian miracles which have impressed the world so much represent that rule of concentrating all the energy on a few things with which they want to impress the world. If they want to throw into the breach all their resources, regardless of any form of economics, of course they can build subways, they can build sputniks, they can open up gold mines and mine the gold at a cost of \$166 an ounce. But that approach breaks down when you try to spread your production over the entire hundred square inches. If you try to give everybody a house, if you try to give everybody a car, if you try to give everybody a television, it just won't work. The people are too incompetent. The system is too inefficient.

But now Khrushchev has promised it to the people. They think it's their right and that's where the danger comes in. Because the people believe. Ted Dealey, the Editor of the Dallas News, and a friend of Wally and mine, is back with a most interesting observation. He tells of two students that he met in the street who told him with all confidence that in five years they could go into any store, get any kind of consumer goods, including automobiles, and it would be free. Another young student whom we talked with

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assured us that by 1965, Russia would have surpassed us in terms of standard of living and when we questioned that, he said, "It has to be so. If I didn't believe that that was going to be so, I couldn't go on living."

And so, friends, I want you to have that image of people who are not very clever, people who are full of conceit who have suddenly focused and fastened their mind on the fact that they are going to surpass us in consumer goods.

V.

And now in the light of what I have said, where does that leave us? It leaves us in a situation which has seeds of danger as well as opportunity. It is possible that when they are disillusioned, the people will rise against Khrushchev and throw him out. It is possible that they will rise against the Government and overthrow Communism. But if we study history and human nature, it is more probable to believe that Khrushchev himself might be thrown out, that the Communist system would survive, but that the Iron Curtain would come dropping down with a resounding clang, and that when you would find the Communist masters, as in the case of China, setting up various external diversions. In the Far East we are seeing that now with Red China's diversions in Laos and in Tibet and on the Indian Frontier. Who knows what kind of diversion we might expect in the future when the Russian people wake up to realize that they have been fooled?

So now I come to the end. I leave you this picture, and I do it reluctantly, because I like to have stories and speeches have

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happy endings. But at the same time, I believe that I should tell you the truth, and I want to leave you with this picture of thousands and thousands of people walking up and down the streets of Moscow and all the other cities of Russia, people who are thinking of one thing -- which is things.

Of course, the picture isn't entirely black. There are exceptions. There are seeds of change and sparks of hope. We know about Pasternak, and somewhere there might be another writer who will come forward and express true ideals of humanity. There may be some priest somewhere who will start a spiritual revival. There may be a Commissar who will bring back to economic sanity.

For the long run, we are right to hope for a peaceful evolution. We are right to exchange visits, right to hold fairs. Something good will surely rub off. But look out for wishful thinking. Dory Shary, the movie producer, once said that "America is a happy-ending country," and I am afraid that we are doing a lot of happy-ending thinking now. We are somehow hoping that Eisenhower is going to charm Khrushchev. We are hoping the Chinese and the Russians will destroy each other. But don't hope too much. We have to see things as they are. And in my opinion, it would take at least 30 years of absolute free interchange between countries and between continents before we would establish any basis of true friendship and true understanding between our people and the Russian people. Meanwhile, so what? Where does that leave us? I can sum it up only by saying this: Let's see the facts as they are. Let's not make the mistake of assuming that the Russian

13.

people are like us. Let's not assume that because our standard of living is higher than theirs, that they are automatically going to love and admire us. And finally let's not forget history.

In the light of everything that's been said now, we mustn't do or say anything inflammatory. We must try to maintain public order when Khrushchev comes, but at the same time, among ourselves as responsible people, let's just remember the past. It was George Santayana who said that "People who forget the past are compelled to re-live it." Khrushchev is going to come and he is going to come talking about peaceful co-existence. He is going to talk about peace and friendship. He will have many references to the "war-mongering" capitalist states and the "peace-loving" communist states. But let's remember that since 1933, 50 out of 52 Russian treaties have been broken - by Russia. Let's remember that September 17, the day that Khrushchev will be speaking to the Citizens Group in New York, is the exact 20th anniversary of the day in 1939 when the Russian armies suddenly and treacherously marched across the Polish frontier, notwithstanding a year long non-aggression pact, meeting the Germans at Brest-Litovsk - and that within two months thereafter, two million Poles had been sent off into captivity. Let's remember it too, when anybody talks about "peaceful co-existence." We need more assurance than words.

And now one last point: that is to stay strong. When I say "strong," I mean strong in the military sense, of course. I also mean strong in the economic sense, and that is a matter which I am sure all of you in Pittsburgh are viewing with great concern now!

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The need to keep our economy in such shape that we avoid the evils of inflation and that we can compete successfully in foreign markets.

But the final source of strength, and the one that interests me, and I think it concerns you too - if it didn't, you wouldn't be here, you wouldn't have this motto on your wall, you wouldn't have started your meeting with the songs you did - is to maintain the moral and intellectual and spiritual strength of the country. Believe me, that's the testimony I bring. When you come back from a country where people no longer believe in the individual, where they no longer recognize the divine spark, where they no longer have any faith in God, then you suddenly realize what our strength is. Those are our qualities, and it is our job to maintain and defend them, because out of that comes the strength which keeps our society going.

All this is summed up in four words that we run each week on Page Two of THIS WEEK Magazine - "For a Better America." They are put there deliberately, every week, week after week, everlasting as a reminder that there isn't any wishful thinking; there isn't any shortcut; there isn't any happy ending that goes beyond the responsibility of each one of us as an individual, as a member of a family, of a community, as a member of an organization, and finally, as citizens in this great country to keep alive those inner resources of spiritual, moral and intellectual strength, which have made us great and which are the only things which are going to enable us to survive the countervailing forces in the world today.

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March 29, 1960

Mr. William I. Nichols
Editor and Publisher
This Week Magazine
485 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Bill:

I apologize for the delay in answering your good letter of March 3, 1960. These have been busy weeks for us here.

First, I want to give you all my congratulations on the splendid growth of "This Week." I follow it currently and only wish I could see more of its editor.

With one or two minor exceptions, and these were several years ago, I have refrained from writing articles or publishing interviews. If I start this it is hard to know where to stop. As you can imagine, I have had a good many requests over the years, and if one does it once, it is hard to refuse others.

From time to time when I feel I have anything to say, I do make a speech, and I have tried to cover subjects such as those mentioned in your letter, although I have not really dealt with the precise and very intriguing issue you present.

I shall try to get together some quotes from my speeches and send them to you, though I realize that this is not what you now want.

The idea of evolution in Russia, particularly as the result of education, was a theme I stressed as long ago as 1955.

(EXECUTIVE REGISTRY FILE

In any event, it is good to be in touch with you and I shall be writing you further when I get together some of these quotes, and possibly we can get together sometime when I am in New York, or if you ever visit this place. Now that Spring is here, I recommend it.

Sincerely,

SIGNED

Allen W. Dulles
Director

O/DCI/SJGrogan:abi (8Mar60)
Rewritten: AWD:at
Orig - Addressee
1 cc - DCI via Reading
1 cc - DDCI
1 cc - ER w/basic ✓
2 cc - SJGrogan

Note: Basic and enclosures forwarded to Col. Grogan w/his cy this letter, and to be returned to ER when he has finished with them.

mfb

60-1588/a

Mr. William I. Nichols
Editor and Publisher
THIS WEEK Magazine
485 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Bill:

Congratulations on the continued growth of THIS WEEK. As you know, my Agency devotes its efforts to securing and reporting information on foreign governments, including, of course, the USSR, for the policy makers. We do not report upon American attitudes nor do we make comparisons in any category between America and the Soviet Union or other foreign countries.

From time to time I have in public addresses given some facts regarding the economic and industrial growth of the Soviet Union, its program in education, etc. I find that this is about all my duties will permit and for that reason I will not be able to take advantage of your offer to be interviewed or to provide an article for THIS WEEK. However, Bill, maybe at some future date we could reopen the subject if you are still interested.

It was good as always to hear from you and to know how well you have succeeded in developing THIS WEEK.

Sincerely,

Allen W. Dulles
Director

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